DEFENCE

(3)

OF THE

STATUTE

PASSED IN THE

FORTY-THIRD YEAR OF ELIZABETH,

CONCERNING

THE EMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF. OF THE POOR:

WITH PROPOSALS FOR ENFORCING IT.

Et omnes Comites, et Barones, una voce responderunt, quod nolunt leges Angliæ mutare quæ usitatæ sunt et approbatæ."

STAT. DE MERTON, c.9.



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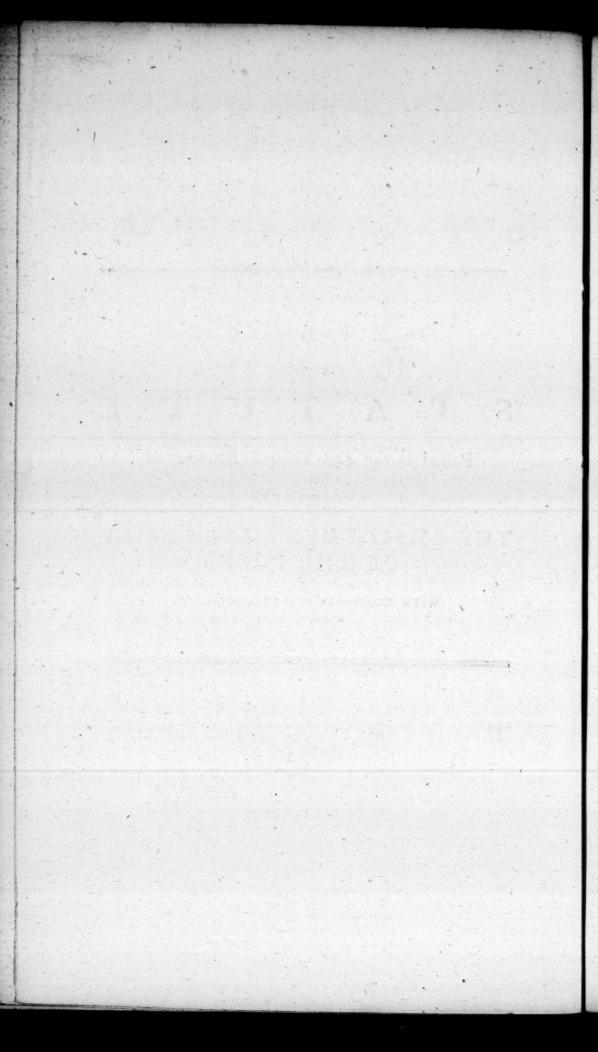
STATUTE

Passed in the 43d Year of ELIZABETH,

CONCERNING

THE EMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF OF THE POOR:

WITH PROPOSALS FOR ENFORCING IT.



As it is apprehended, it equally meets the wishes as the credit of the legislature, that the new code of laws respecting the regulation of the Poor, should be as fully as possible an aggregate of the knowledge and experience of the nation on that important topic of our internal police; the following observations which tend to solicit a further trial of the 43d of Elizabeth, and the subsequent Statutes as far as they respect the employment and relief of the poor, with stronger and more coercive means of enforcing a due and strict execution of them, will, it is hoped, meet with the candid attention of the public.

To offer an historical detail of the situation of the poor, and the laws and usages in sorce with respect to their employment and relief, anterior to the forty-third year of the reign of Elizabeth, is not necessary to this investigation, it is sufficient to have recourse to the Statute passed in that year, as

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the great outline of every regulation of our forefathers on the subject, from the day of its date to the prefent times; It appears to be a masterly production of the age, which concenters in a point all the knowledge and experience of the realm, at the time it became the law of the land: It is a wife, humane, and magnificent code, and would, like many a venerable gothic pile in the kingdom, fully, and for many years to come, answer well the charitable and pious purposes for which it was constructed by our forefathers; if those who have the management of its revenues, would employ them to the purposes intended by the respectable founders, by keeping each part in constant repair and daily use; instead of which, it suffers like some of those venerable and more antient monuments of our forefathers piety and munificence; in many instances from interested motives, in more from indolence and neglect.

But let us examine it nearly, and survey each part with attention, for it will bear the test of the minutest investigation, and let us enquire how far it is made use of, and in what instances neglected. " Anno quadragessimo tertio Reginæ Elizabethæ.

** AT the parliament begun and holden at Westminster the seven and twentieth day of October in the three and fortieth year of the reign of our most gracious sovereign lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen, defender of the faith, &c. And there continued until the dissolution thereof, being the nineteenth of December next following, one thousand six hundred one; To the high pleasure of Almighty God, and the weal publick of this realm, were enacted as followeth.

CAP. II.

" An act for the Relief of the Poor.

BE it enacted by the authority of this present parliament, That the church-wardens of every parish, and four, three or two substantial house-holders there, as shall be thought meet, having respect to the proportion and greatness of the same parish and parishes, to be nominated yearly in Easter week, or within one month after Easter, under the hand and seal of two or more justices of the peace in the same county, whereof one to be of the quorum, uwelling in or near the same parish or division where the same parish doth lie, shall be called overseers of the poor of the same parish: and they, or the greater part of them, shall take order from time to time, by

and with the confent of two or more fuch justices of peace as is aforefaid, for fetting to work the children of all fuch whose parents shall not by the said churchwardens and overfeers, or the greater part of them, be thought able to keep and maintain their children; and also for setting to work all such persons, married or unmarried, having no means to maintain them, and use no ordinary and daily trade of life to get their living by: and also to raise weekly or otherwife (by taxation of every inhabitant, parson, vicar and other, and of every occupier of lands, houses, tithes impropriate, propriations of tithes, coalmines, or faleable underwoods in the faid parish, in fuch competent fum and fums of money as they shall think fit) a convenient stock of flax, hemp, wool, thread, iron and other necessary ware and stuff, to set the poor on work: and also competent fums of money for and towards the necessary relief of the lame, impotent, old, blind, and fuch others among them, being poor and not able to work, and also for the putting out of such children to be apprentices, to be gathered out of the same parish, according to the ability of the same parish, and to do and execute all other things, as well for the difpoling of the faid stock as otherwise concerning the premisses, as to them shall seem convenient."

Is all this Section put in practice every where? Is it generally put in practice any where? Do the church-wardens or overfeers take order from time to

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time, for fetting such children to work? Do they raise weekly, or otherwise, a stock of hemp, flax, wool, thread, iron, or other necessary ware or stuff to set the poor at work?

II. "Which faid church-wardens and overfeers for to be nominated, or fuch of them as shall not be lett by fickness or other just excuse, to be allowed by two fuch justices of peace or more as is aforesaid, shall meet together at the least once every month in the church of the faid parish, upon the Sunday in the afternoon after divine service, there to consider of fome good course to be taken, and of some meet order to be fet down in the premisses; (2) and shall within four days after the end of their year, and after other overseers nominated as aforesaid, make and yield up to fuch two justices of peace as is aforefaid, a true and perfect account of all fums of money by them received, or rated and feffed and not received, and also of such stock as shall be in their hands, or in the hands of any of the poor to work, and of all other things concerning their faid office; (3) and fuch fum or fums of money as shall be in their hands, shall pay and deliver over to the said church-wardens and overfeers newly nominated and appointed as aforefaid; (4) upon pain that every one of them absenting themselves without lawful cause as aforesaid, from such monthly meeting for the purpose aforesaid, or being negligent in their office, or in the execution of the orders aforefaid,

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being made by and with the affent of the faid juftices of peace, or any two of them before-mentioned, to forfeit for every fuch default of absence or negligence twenty shillings."

Do the overseers meet according to this Section once a month on the Sunday afternoon, in the chancel of the church? Do they deliver to the justices a true and perfett account? Are any forfeitures incurred under this Section ever levied?

III. "And be it also enacted. That if the faid justices of peace do perceive, that the inhabitants of any parish are not able to levy among themfelves fufficient fums of money for the purpofes aforesaid; That then the said two justices shall and may tax, rate and affefs as aforefaid, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish, within the hundred where the faid parish is, to pay such fum and fums of money to the church-wardens and overfeers of the faid poor parish for the faid purposes, as the faid justices shall think fit, according to the intent of this law: (2) and if the faid hundred shall not be thought to the faid justices able and fit to relieve the faid several parishes not able to provide for themselves as aforesaid; Then the justices of peace at their general quarter-sessions or the greater number of them, shall rate and affess as aforesaid, any other of other parishes, or out of any parish, within the said county for the purposes aforesaid, as in their discretion shall seem fit."

It is apprehended there are not many instances where other parishes are called in aid to assist such parishes as are not able to relieve their own poor; where such instances happen, it is taken for granted this Section is complied with.

IV. "And that it shall be lawful, as well for the present as subsequent church-wardens and overseers, or any of them, by warrant from any two fuch justices of peace, as is aforefaid, to levy as well the faid fums of money, and all arrearages, of every one that shall refuse to contribute according as they shall be affessed, by distress and sale of the offender's goods, as the fums of money or stock which shall be behind upon any account to be made as aforesaid, rendering to the parties the overplus; (2) and in defect of fuch diffrefs, it shall be lawful for any fuch two justices of the peace to commit him or them to the common goal of the county, there to remain without bail or mainprize until payment of the faid fum, arrearages and flock: (3) and the faid justices of peace, or any one of them, to fend to the house of correction or common goal, such as shall not employ themselves to work, being appointed thereunto, as aforesaid: (4) and also any fuch two justices of peace to commit to the said prifon every one of the faid church-wardens and overfeers which shall refuse to account, there to remain without bail or mainprize until he have made a true account, and fatisfied and paid fo much as upon the faid account shall be remaining in his hands."

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The former part of this Section being the means for enforcing the payment of the money affested, it is supposed is put in practice when necessary; respecting those clauses distinguished by (3) and (4) the same enquiry should be made as concerning the preceding Sections.

V. "And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the faid church-wardens and overfeers, or the greater part of them, by the affent of any two justices of the peace aforesaid, to bind any such children, as aforesaid, to be apprentices, where they shall see convenient, till such man-child shall come to the age of four and twenty years, and fuch woman-child to the age of one and twenty years, or the time of her marriage; the same to be as effectual to all purposes, as if such child were of full age, and by indenture of covenant bound him or her felf. (2) And to the intent that necessary places of habitation may more conveniently be provided for fuch poor impotent people; (3) be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That it shall and may be lawful for the faid church-wardens and overfeers, or the greater part of them, by the leave of the lord or lords of the manor, whereof any waste or common within their parish is or shall be parcel, and upon agreement before with him or them made in writing, under the hands and feals of the faid lord or lords, or otherwise, according to any order to be fet down by the justices of peace of the faid county,

at their general quarter-sessions, or the greater part of them, by like leave and agreement of the faid lord or lords in writing under his or their hands and feals, to erect, build, and fet up in fit and convenient places of habitation in such waste or common, at the general charges of the parish, or otherwise of the hundred or county, as aforesaid, to be taxed, rated and gathered in manner before expressed, convenient houses of dwelling for the faid impotent poor; (4) and also to place inmates, or more families than one in one cottage or house; one act made in the one and thirtieth year of her Majefty's reign, intituled, An AEt against the erecting and maintaining of cottages, or any thing therein contained to the contrary notwithstanding: (5) which cottages and places for inmates shall not at any time after be used or employed to or for any other habitation, but only for impotent and poor of the same parish, that shall be there placed from time to time by the church-wardens and overfeers of the poor of the same parish, or the most part of them, upon the pains and forfeitures contained in the faid former act made in the faid one and thirtieth year of her Majesty's reign."

There is great complaint in country parishes that the poor are not willing their children should be bound apprentice according to the directions in this Section, nor are the young people on their parts willling to be bound, which it is apprehended, arises principally cipally from the length of time the contract is in force, which prevents fuch apprentices being of fervice to their parents, or establishing themselves in the world till too advanced an age; the males till 24, the females till 21, or day of marriage. The amazing advances this nation has made in trade, commerce, and manufactures; which has occasioned a proportional early improvement of the inventive and imitative faculties of the mind, and a corresponding additional value of the time and labour of youth, has rendered this rule, which in the remote days of Elizabeth was a wife and prudent regulation; rather a hardship on the present rising generation, which is in fact evaded in practice, by an agreement often indorfed on the back of the indentures; that the remainder of the young man's time shall be given up by the mafter, at the age of 21: but no rules should remain in the Statutes, which render evafions necessary to common justice or policy. It were better that this should be altered, since justice requires it, as it is very certain that the services of young people from the age of 18 years upwards, are confiderably more than an equivalent to the mafter for their maintenance, and indeed from the age of 14 to 18, it is apprehended that their fervices are a full and fufficient recompence; it is also to be considered, that parishes often give a fmall fum of money with the apprentice, this, together with the confideration that they are subject

to the controul of magistrates, renders them more desirable servants than young people hired at that age by the year, over whom, except servants in husbandry, some manufactures, and mechanics, the legislature has given to their masters no controul whatever, but has left their whole conduct to be regulated by no other rule than general Statutes for the punishment of crimes, and the maxims of the common law."

Although in many parishes in the kingdom, if not universally, cottages or dwellings for the poor are much wanted; yet so much of this Section as respects building of cottages on the wastes, with leave of the lord of the manor, is seldom enforced; the reason is obvious; to carry the intent of this part of the Section into execution, the fund directed to be raised, is not raised; and the amount of the poors' rates is annually expended in their maintenance, of course no money remains in hand to answer this wise and humane purpose.

VI. "Provided always, That if any person or persons shall find themselves grieved with any sess or tax, or other act done by the said church-wardens and other persons, or by the said justices of peace; that then it shall be lawful for the justices of the peace at their general quarter-sessions, or the greater number of them, to take such order therein, as to them shall be thought convenient; and the same to conclude and bind all the said parties."

It is apprehended the rules contained in this Section still remain in use, and supply the quartersessions with some part of their business.

VII. And be it further enacted, That the father and grandfather, and the mother and grandmother, and the children of every poor, old, blind, lame and impotent person, or other poor person not able to work, being of a sufficient ability, shall, at their own charges, relieve and maintain every such poor person in that manner, and according to that rate, as by the justices of peace of that county where such sufficient persons dwell, or the greater number of them, at their general quarter-sessions shall be affessed; (2) upon pain that every one of them shall forseit twenty shillings for every month which they shall fail therein."

An enquiry throughout the kingdom how far this Section is in general use, must appear to every one to be very necessary, as it is apprehended, and with too much reason, that the church-wardens and overseers do not in the manner intended by the act, yield up a true and perfect account of all sums of money received, and of all other things concerning their office, there is consequently an opportunity for them to favour such parents, and children of the poor as they may be inclined to, either from interest, natural affection, or other partial motives. If the first Section was strictly enforced, the rule contained in this Section, would answer the wise and prudent intent of the legislature.

VIII. "And

VIII. "And be it further hereby enacted, That the mayors, bailiffs, or other head officers of every town and place corporate and city within this realm, being justice or justices of peace, shall have the fame authority by virtue of this act, within the limits and precincts of their jurisdictions, as well out of fessions, as at their fessions, if they hold any, as is herein limited, prescribed and appointed to justices of the peace of the county, or any two or more of them, or to the justices of peace in their quarter-sessions, to do and execute for all the uses and purposes in this act prescribed, and no other justice or justices of peace to enter or meddle there: (2) and that every alderman of the city of London within his ward, shall and may do and execute in every respect so much as is appointed and allowed by this act to be done and executed by one or two justices of peace of any county within this realm.

IX. "And be it also enacted, That if it shall happen any parish to extend it self into more counties than one, or part to lie within the liberties of any city, town or place corporate, and part without, That then as well the justices of peace of every county, as also the head officers of such city, town or place corporate shall deal and intermeddle only in so much of the said parish as lieth within their liberties, and not any surther: (2) and every of them respectively within their several limits, wards and jurisdictions, to execute the ordinances beforementioned

mentioned concerning the nomination of overfeers, the confent to binding apprentices, the giving warrant to levy taxations unpaid, the taking account of church-wardens and overfeers, and the committing to prison such as refuse to account, or deny to pay the arrearages due upon their accounts; (3) and yet nevertheless, the said church-wardens and overfeers, or the most part of them, of the faid parifhes that do extend into fuch feveral limits and jurisdictions, shall, without dividing themselves, duly execute their office in all places within the faid parish, in all things to them belonging, and shall duly exhibit and make one account before the faid head officer of the town or place corporate, and one other before the faid justices of peace, or any fuch two of them, as is aforefaid."

There is no doubt but these Sections are now made the rule of action by the respective officers of corporate towns, aldermen of London, and magistrates, as far as they relate to their respective jurisdictions, and the particular situations of parishes.

X. "And further be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if in any place within this realm there happen to be hereaster no such nomination of over-seers yearly, as is before appointed, That then every justice of peace of the county, dwelling within the divison where such default of nomination shall happen, and every mayor, alderman and head officer

of city, town or place corporate where such default shall happen, shall lose and forfeit for every such default sive pounds, to be employed towards the relief of the poor of the said parish or place corporate, and to be levied, as aforesaid, of their goods, by warrant from the general sessions of the peace of the said county, or of the same city, town or place corporate, if they keep sessions.

XI. " And be it also enacted by the authority aforefaid, That, all penalties and forfeitures beforementioned in this act to be forfeited by any person or persons, shall go and be employed to the use of the poor of the same parish, and towards a stock and habitation for them, and other necessary uses and relief as before in this act are mentioned and expressed: (2) and shall be levied by the faid churchwardens and overfeers, or one of them, by warrant from any two fuch justices of peace, or mayor, alderman, or head officer of city, town or place corporate respectively within their several limits, by diffress and fale thereof, as aforesaid; (3) or in defect thereof, it shall be lawful for any two such justices of peace, and the faid aldermen and head officers within their feveral limits, to commit the offender to the faid prison, there to remain without bail or mainprize till the said forfeitures shall be fatisfied and paid."

It is apprehended that in general throughout the kingdom, there is no stock or fund raised to employ the poor, or to build them habitations. This neglect has probably occasioned the church-wardens and overseers on their parts, and the magistrates also, to be negligent and remiss in raising any money from penalties and forseitures; besides it is conceived that all officers and magistrates concerned in putting this act into sorce, being conscious of such neglect; a mutual sorbearance has taken place, and the intent and spirit of the act in this respect is rendered totally useless, of consequence the rule in the 11th Section, how to apply the money so raised, is rendered vain and nugatory.

XII. "And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the justices of peace of every county or place corporate, or the more part of them, in their general fessions to be holden next after the feast of Easter next, and so yearly as often as they shall think meet, shall rate every parish to such a weekly fum of money as they shall think convenient; (2) fo as no parish be rated above the sum of six-pence, nor under the fum of a half-penny, weekly to be paid, and so as the total sum of such taxation of the parishes in every county amount not above the rate of two pence for every parish within the said county; (3) which fums fo taxed shall be yearly affested by the agreement of the parishioners within themselves; or in default thereof, by the church-wardens and petty constables of the same parish, or the more part of them: or in default of their agreement, by the order

order of fuch justice or justices of peace as shall dwell in the same parish, or (if none be there dwelling) in the parts next adjoining.

XIII. "And if any person shall refuse or neglect to pay any such portion of money so taxed, it shall be lawful for the said church-wardens and constables, or any of them, or in their default, for any justice of peace of the said limit, to levy the same by distress and sale of the goods of the party to refusing or neglecting, rendring to the party the overplus: (2) and in default of such distress, it shall be lawful to any justice of that limit to commit such person to the said prison, there to abide without bail or mainprize till he have paid the same.

XIV. "And be it also enacted, That the said justices of peace at their general quarter-sessions to be holden at the time of such taxation, shall set down what competent sums of money shall be sent quarterly out of every county or place corporate, for the relief of the poor prisoners of the King's-Bench and Marshalsea, and also of such hospitals and alms-houses as shall be in the said county, and what sums of money shall be sent to every one of the said hospitals, and alms-houses, so as there be sent out of every county yearly twenty shillings at the least, to each of the said prisons of the King's-Bench and Marshalsea; (2) which

which fums ratably to be affeffed upon every parish, the church-wardens of every parish shall truly collect and pay over to the high constables in whose division such parish shall be situate, from time to time, quarterly, ten days before the end of every quarter; (3) and every fuch constable at every fuch quarter-fessions in such county, shall pay over the fame to two fuch treasurers, or to one of them, as shall by the more part of the justices of peace of the county be elected to be the faid treafurers, to be chosen by the justices of peace of the said county, city or town, or place corporate, or of others which were fessed and taxed at five pounds lands, or ten pounds goods at the leaft, at the tax of fubfidy next before the time of the faid election to be made; (4) and the faid treasurers so elected to continue for the space of one whole year in their office, and then to give up their charge, with a due account of their receipts and disbursments, at the quarter-fessions to be holden next after the feast of Easter in every year, to such others as shall from year to year, in form aforefaid, fuccessively be elected treasurers for the faid county, city, town or place corporate; (5) which faid treafurers, or one of them, shall pay over the same to the lord chief justice of England, and knight marshal for the time being, equally to be divided to the use aforefaid, taking their acquittance for the fame, or in default

fault of the said chief justice, to the next antientest justice of the King's Bench, as aforesaid: (6) and if any church-warden or high constable, or his executors or administrators, stiall fail to make payment in form above specified, then every churchwarden, his executors or administrators, so offending, shall forfeit for every time the sum of ten shillings; (7) and every high constable, his executors or administrators, shall forfeit for every time the sum of twenty shillings; (8) the same forfeitures, together with the sums behind, to be levied by the said treasurer and treasurers by way of distress and sale of the goods as aforesaid, in form aforesaid, and by them to be employed towards the charitable uses comprised in this act.

XV. "And be it further enacted, That all the furplufage of money which shall be remaining in the said stock of any county, shall by discretion of the more part of the justices of peace in their quarter-sessions, be ordered, distributed and bestowed for the relief of the poor hospitals of that county, and of those that shall sustain losses by fire, water, the sea or other casualties, and to such other charitable purposes, for the relief of the poor, as to the more part of the said justices of peace shall seem convenient."

These sections fall not immediately under consideration, as they regulate and direct the raising and managing the fund, for the purposes of county

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expences,

expences, which are now defrayed out of the poors' rate, although intended by the legislature to be kept distinct, and a separate fund is accordingly by these preceding Sections directed to be raised and applied for these purposes; it is apparent by the 15th Section particularly, that such was the intention of the legislature, because the act directs the application of the surplus of the money raised, if any, not in aid of the poors' general sund, but to the relief of those that shall sustain losses by fire, water, the sea or other casualties; an affertion may, therefore, be ventured, that these Sections are not at this time in use.

XVI. " And be it further enacted, That if any treasurer elected shall wilfully refuse to take upon him the faid office of treasurership, or refuse to distribute and give relief, or to account, according to fuch form as shall be appointed by the more part of the faid justices of peace; That then it shall be lawful for the justices of peace in their quarter-fessions, or in their default, for the justices of affize at their affizes to be holden in the fame county, to fine the same treasurer by their discretion; (2) the same fine not to be under three pounds, and to be levied by fale of his goods, and to be profecuted by any two of the faid justices of peace whom they shall authorize. (3) Provided always, That this act shall not take effect until the feast of Easter next.

XVII. "And be it enacted, That the statute made in the nine and thirtieth year of her Majesty's reign, intituled, An ast for the relief of the poor, shall continue and stand in force until the feast of Easter next; (2) and that all taxations heretofore imposed and not paid, nor that shall be paid before the said feast of Easter next, and that all taxes hereafter before the said feast to be taxed by virtue of the said feast of Easter, shall and may after the said feast of Easter, shall and may after the said feast of Easter be levied by the overseers and other persons in this act respectively appointed to levy taxations, by distress, and by such warrant in every respect, as if they had been taxed and imposed by virtue of this act, and were not paid.

XVIII. "Provided always, That whereas the island of Fowlness in the county of Essex, being environed with the sea, and having a chapel of ease for the inhabitants thereof, and yet the said island is no parish, but the lands in the same are situated within divers parishes far distant from the said island; (2) be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the said justices of peace shall nominate and appoint inhabitants within the said island, to be overseers for the poor people dwelling within the said island, and that both they the said justices and the said overseers shall have the same power and authority to all intents, considerations and purposes for the execution of the parts

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and articles of this act, and shall be subject to the fame pains and forfeitures, and likewise that the inhabitants and occupiers of lands there shall be liable and chargeable to the fame payments, charges, expences and orders, in fuch manner and form as if the same island were a parish; (3) in confideration whereof, neither the faid inhabitants or occupiers of land within the faid island, shall not be compelled to contribute towards the relief of the poor of those parishes wherein their houses or lands which they occupy within the faid island are fituated, for or by reason of their said habitation or occupyings, other than for the relief of the poor people within the faid island, neither yet shall the other inhabitants of the parishes wherein such houses or lands are fituated be compelled, by reafon of their refiancy or dwelling, to contribute to the relief of the poor inhabitants within the faid island.

XIX. "And be it further enacted, That if any action of trespass or other suit shall happen to be attempted and brought against any person or persons, for taking of any distress, making of any sale, or any other thing doing, by authority of this present act, the defendant or defendants in any suitch action or suit shall and may either plead not guilty, or otherwise make avowry, cognisance or justification for the taking of the said distresses, making of sale, or other thing doing by virtue of this

this act, alledging in fuch avowry, cognifance or justification, That the faid diffress, sale, trespass or other thing whereof the plaintiff or plaintiffs complained, was done by authority of this act, and according to the tenor, purport and effect of this act, without any expressing or rehearfal of any other matter or circumstance contained in this present act: (2) to which avowry, cognisance or justification, the plaintiff shall be admitted to reply, That the defendant did take the faid diftress, made the faid fale, or did any other act or trefpass supposed in his declaration, of his own wrong, without any fuch cause alledged by the said defendant; (3) whereupon the iffue in every fuch action shall be joined, to be tried by verdict of twelve men, and not otherwife, as is accustomed in other personal actions: (4) and upon the trial of that iffue, the whole matter to be given on both parties in evidence, according to the very truth of the same; (5) and after fuch iffue tried for the defendant, or nonfuit of the plaintiff after appearance, the fame defendant to recover treble damages, by reason of his wrongful vexation in that behalf, with his costs also in that part fuftained, and that to be affeffed by the fame jury, or writ to enquire of the damages, as the same shall require.

XX. "Provided always, That this act shall endure no longer than to the end of the next session of parliament. 3 Car. I. c. 4. Continued until the end

of the first session of the next parliament, and farther continued by, 16 Car. I. c. 4."

The use of the 1st of these Sections is at an end. The 2d, which regulates the management of the poor in the island of Fowlness, it is supposed, may have its due effect, and be at this day the rule of conduct, as far as the locality of the directions extend. The two last Sections shall be taken notice of in another part of these observations:

Having inferted every Section in this Statute, and ventured some strictures on those which more immediately respect the management of the poor, in . the material articles of their employment, habitations, relief, accounts of overfeers, and the compulfive means of enforcing by fines an observance of the act; the next step into our progress leads to the inspection of the supports and convenient additions this truly respectable edifice hath continued to receive from the wifdom of following ages, which have uniformly confidered it as part of our excellent constitution; the first instance of their attention to the subject occurs to us as soon as the spirits of the nation had subsided, after those turbulent times which brought one of our princes to the block, and had left our legislators leifure to attend to the regulation of the internal police of the kingdom; they then perceived an inconvenience had arisen from the general good effect experienced by a due observance of this Statute; as an extract from

the preamble to the 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 12. will plainly demonstrate; which states that " Whereas poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another, and, therefore, do endeavour to fettle themselves, where there is the best stock, and largest commons, and wastes to build cottages." What stronger proof can the legislature require of the good effects arifing from the enforcing the 2d Section of this venerable code of regulations? For it appears by this preamble, that a good flock of materials to work up, and a chance of obtaining habitations to shelter themselves in, occasioned the poor to migrate from those parishes where the churchwardens and overfeers were negligent in these matters, to other parishes where they had a chance of a domicile and employment; this is the first act, which respects the settlements of the poor; but does not in any instance prove an alteration at this time to have been necessary to the 43d of Elizabeth, nor does it attempt one, and may with no impropriety be called a useful and necessary addition to that venerable edifice, comprehending in it, the origin of fettlements, workhouses, and the laws respecting rogues and vagabonds, together with regulations respecting the maintenance of natural children.

A few years more passed away, and the legislature again turned their attention to the poor laws, as far as they respect the city and liberties of Westminster, and county of Middlesex, and regulated the raising and

and payment of the poors' rates, within those diftricts, but lest the act of Elizabeth untouched.

Upwards of twenty years experience of the good effects of the 43d of Elizabeth, passed from the date of the last mentioned act, before any other regulation respecting the poor was thought necessary, and what was then found expedient, arose from the partial and improper distribution of the money raised for the relief of the poor, by virtue of this celebrated Statute; and not from any fault in the-regulations contained in it; as may be observed by the preambles to the 1 1th and 12th Sections of 3 W. & M. c. 2. "Whereas many inconveniencies do daily arise in cities, towns corporate, and parishes where the inhabitants are very numerous, by reason of the unlimited power of the churchwardens and overfeers of the poor, who do frequently on frivolous pretences, (but chiefly for their own private ends) give relief to what persons and number they think fit, and such persons being entered into the collection bill, do become after that a great charge to the parish, notwithstanding the occasion, or pretence of their receiving collection oftentimes ceases, by which means the rates for the poor are daily increased, contrary to the true intent of the Statute, made in the forty-third year of the reign of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth." This Section proceeds to direct, that a register should be kept of the admittances of the poor, and that the parishioners should yearly,

yearly, in Easter week, make a list of the poor, and that none but those on the list should receive alms, except by the order of one justice of the peace; the preamble of the following Section of the same act states, the misapplication of the parish money by the churchwardens and overseers; as the cause for the enacting part: which directs the evidence of parishioners (except almsmen) to be admissible evidence, who being parties concerned, were not, by the rules of evidence, in actions at law.

Excellent regulations were these, but had the original Statute been constantly every where put in execution, they would not have been necessary, and much is it to be feared, that these regulations themselves, as far at least as respect the eleventh Section, are become a dead letter, and cease to be put in use; but let an enquiry be made.

A short time passed between this addition to the corner stone of the system, before the attention of parliament was again called forth on the subject, and the wisdom of the legislature produced 8 and 9. W. III. c. 30. which contains additional regulations, with respect to settlements and certificates, and also a further guard against improper distributions of the money, raised for the employment and relief of the poor.

The 2d Section of this act, "to the end that the money raised only for the relief of those who are

as well impotent, as poor may not be misapplied, and consumed by the idle," enacts, that persons receiving alms, shall wear a badge on the shoulder of the right sleeve, with a large roman P, and the first letter of the parish to which they belong, and enforced the direction by a penalty on the poor person refusing to wear the badge, and on the parish-officer for relieving without one.

The reflection arifing from this Section, must be obvious to every one; that parliament having tried all other means to prevent improper distributions of the money raised for the poor, called to their assistance, the laudable principles of manly and decent pride, inherent in all human breasts, as a further fanction to the sacred and only proper distribution of their revenue; conceiving such a mark, might assist to keep the overseer from partial distributions, and those who could maintain themselves by honest labour, from improper solicitations. But where is this regulation ensorced? What magistrate recollects an application for the penalty?

From this period, the Statutes already enacted on this important subject seemed adequate to the point they aimed at, and no surther notice did the legislature take of the poor laws, until the twelfth of Ann, when the act of 13 and 14, c. 2. having been continued from time to time, and been experienced to be effectual for the purposes intended, it was made perpetual.

Five

Five years after this Statute we find, 5 Geo. 1.

c. 8. for the more effectual relief of such wives and children of the poor, as are left by their husbands or parents a charge on the parish; by virtue of this act, their goods and effects are to be seized, and sold by order of the quarter sessions, and the over-seers to be accountable to the quarter sessions, for as much money as they shall receive by virtue there-of. The same question again occurs: Is this act in use, have the quarter sessions many applications grounded on this act, or how is this part of an over-seer's business which frequently comes in practice, carried into execution?

In the 9th year of this King's reign, a very material regulation was made in the poor laws, the necessity of which, the preamble states to have arisen from the following cause, 9 Geo. I. c. 7. " Whereas, under color of the proviso of an act passed in the the 3d and 4th years, of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, many persons have applied to some justices of peace, without the knowledge of any officers of the parish, and thereby upon untrue fuggestions and sometimes on false and frivolous pretences, have obtained relief which hath greatly contributed to the increase of the parish rates. therefore enacts, that no poor person shall be relieved by a justice of peace, until oath made of a reasonable cause, and that the pauper hath applied to the parishioners for relief at a vestry, or other public

public meeting, or to two overseers, and until such justice hath summoned the overseers to shew cause, and that the relief granted shall not continue any longer than the cause continues, and creates a penalty of 51. on the overseer for non-observance; from this act also, general work-houses take their rise, and it also deprives the poor of their right to demand relief, if they refuse to be lodged, kept and maintained in such house, but there is not a single reslection in the act, on the insufficiency of 43 of Elizabeth; it only attempts to remedy evils as they arise; and to invent effective checks, to the cunning and impositions of needy people, and the partial affections of parish officers.

Another feven years experience of the wisdom of the legislature in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, added a further fanction to its usefulness and respectability, when a kind of rider was tacked to an act which in general regulated quite different matters; except Sections, 9, 10, 11, 12, which in some measure respect the poor, but neither directly or by implication charge this excellent Statute with infufficiency; the act alluded to is the 2d of Geo. H. c. 29, which in those Sections, respects the licensing of ale-houses, and retailers of spirituous liquors; and prohibits unlawful games, but otherwife contains nothing within the tenor of these observations, nor are the 8th and 9th Sections of 3 Geo. II. c. 29, properly subject to these animadversions; as they

they only regulate the act of 8 and 9 W. III. which relates to certificates.

Fourteen years after the date of this last mentioned act, new restrictions were found necessary to keep the parish officers within the pale of honesty, and impartiality, and the legislature passed an act in the 17 Geo. II. c. 3. the preamble of which states: "Whereas great inconveniencies often arise in cities, towns corporate, parishes, townships and places, by reason of the unlimited power of the churchwardens and overfeers of the poor who frequently on frivolous pretences and for private ends make unjust and illegal rates, in a fecret and clandestine manner, contrary to the true intent and meaning of a Statute made in the 43d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled an act for the relief of the poor;" to remedy which, this act directs the poors' rates to be published in the church, and that the inhabitants shall have liberty to inspect and take copies of them.

The fifth chapter of the Statutes of the same year, relating to rogues, vagabonds, disorderly persons and houses of correction, calls for no part of our present attention, nor does the thirty-seventh chapter, which respects disputes in parishes where there are improved wastes, and marsh lands; only it may be observed that these acts, if not put into execution, ought not to be deemed ineffectual.

We proceed now to an act of parliament, the preamble to which feems, at first glance, to throw off fomewhat of that reverence hitherto paid, uniformly to the wifdom of Elizabeth's reign; but although it is stated in the preamble: "that by reason of some defects in an act made in the 43d year of her reign, entituled an act for the relief of the poor, the money raifed for that purpose is misapplied, and there is often great difficulty and delay in raising the fame:" It will be apparent to whoever perufes the Sections which follow the preamble, that it is not the wisdom or prudence of the act, which the legislature calls in question; but the honesty and uprightness of those who are directed to put it in execution; the spirit of 17 Geo. II. c. 38. does not proceed on any appearance of deficiency of judgment in the framers of this corner stone of the poor laws, but on the necessity of meeting the evasions, subterfuges, knavery and delay, of the church-wardens and overfeers; the only omission in the judgment of our forefathers feems to have been that they did not foresee with the eye of prophecy, the additional cautions and provisoes which experience would prove necessary for enforcing honesty, after the lapse of near a century aud half.

No other Statutes through the remaining part of his late Majesty's reign, except one in the 31st year, cap. 11. respects the regulation of the poor, and that, being a regulation as to the settlement of parish

parish apprentices and of servants employed in husbandry, does not fall under the scope of these observations; having, therefore, inferted every Section in the 43d of Elizabeth, with some strictures on them respectively, and having noted the several Sections in the subsequent Statutes to the end of the reign of his late Majesty, which immediately relate to the employment and relief of the poor, and conceiving, as the enquiry is directed to the efficacy of the code of laws which has had the fanction of experience with respect to these objects, it would be futile to extend any observations to acts of parliament which became the law of the land fo lately as the prefent reign; having also suggested the propriety of a general enquiry throughout the kingdom whether they are all, or any of them, enforced, or in use, before a preamble to a new code of poor laws declares the old to be infufficient, which it is apprehended is the usual declaration in a preamble to an act of parliament, which either actually or virtually abolishes an existing Statute and enacts a new law; indulgence is now entreated for a few observations on the wisdom apparent in the general plan and defign of this excellent and respectable Statute, on the attention the legislature of that prudent reign paid to the unity, confiftency, and efficacy, of every distinct part of it, and the reverence which future parliaments have uniformly treated it with.

D

It is apparent that the principle design and scope of the act was the employment of the poor, to this object every part of it is directed. They must work to live, the wisdom of our ancestors said, and their humanity told them, that if illness, accident, or age, rendered individuals unable to support themselves by their work, the desiciency ought to be supplied by their more opulent sellow citizens; these principles form the spirit and soul of this act of parliament, and the different Sections minutely and distinctly point out and direct, the means of carrying this idea into execution.

Aware that human nature is liable to err, and that the probability of individuals doing wrong, bears fome proportion to the temptation they are liable to, the first Section is framed with particular caution; almost all the power and authority created by the act is thrown into the hands of the neighbouring justices, not, it is apprehended, that the Parliament thought magistracy infallible, but that they were farther removed from the temptation, partially to raife, or improperly distribute, the fund intended to be levied by the act, than were the overfeers or churchwardens, who might be more intimately concerned in interest or affection with the neighbouring poor, among whom they lived, and with whom, many of them were, probably, connected by ties of confanguinity or affection; on which which account, two or more justices of the peace of the county were directed to nominate the church-wardens and overseers, who are with their consent to take order for the doing what is directed by the remaining part of the Section.

The 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th Sections proceed with the same caution, and subject the overseers to the fame controul; but as it was conceived the neighbouring magistrates might not be infallible, the 6th Section gives an appeal to the quarter-sessions.

The jealoufy of our ancestors that the humane and charitable provisions in the act might be mifapplied, and the almost prophetic foresight they possessed, that in future ages they might be extended to lengths, in those days scarce credible, and become, through the inattention of fome, and interested designs of others, a serious burthen to posterity; occasioned them to guard with great caution every avenue to improper, or partial distributions of the public money, and to take care, by Section the 7th, that the principle of natural affection should first discharge its duty, before common and general charity should be admitted to operate; for this purpose it is enacted that parents and children of the poor, of fufficient ability, should relieve each other at their own charges, and at that rate which justices of quarter-fessions should assels.

The Sections 8 and 9 which respect particular parishes, are planned with the same good sense, and

worded with the same clearness and precision, as the preceding and subsequent clauses.

Another striking feature and leading principle of the act feems to have been the acquisition of an increase of revenue to the poor, by the forfeitures arifing from omiffions of duty, and commissions of offences, against the spirit and sense of the institution; knowing that in proportion as parish-officers or magistrates were remiss or partial in carrying the act into execution, the revenue would ftand in need of an increment which they conceived it was but just to raise from their offences; in consequence of which, we fee in the preceding Sections, penalties of 20s. to be paid by the church-wardens and overfeers for omissions in the execution of their duty; and by the 10th Section, the justices are fined five pounds for their default, in not naming the overfeers at the time, and in the manner directed by the act; which are large and fevere fines if estimated at the proportional value of money in the very dawn of the feventeenth century, and tend to prove that this was in idea; and that it formed part of the grand object and defign of the legislature is also apparent from the 11th Section, which directs the uses to which the forfeitures incurred by neglect of, or offences against the act, are to be applied; and which if levied with strictness, would amount to a very confiderable fum, or would occasion us more fenfibly to feel the good policy of the act, by a due and exact execution of it. The

The three following Sections, viz. the 12th, 13th; and 14th, shall be passed over, as not immediately relating to the employment and relief of the poor, but more properly may be classed under the article of county expences, the fund for which, was then raised as directed in the act, by a different rate, although it is now blended with, and forms part of the disbursments of the sum raised by the poors' rate; but the comprehensive and wife spirit of the legislature, and their very extensive plan of charity shines out in their direction for the application of the overplus, (if any) after the fums directed by the justices by virtue of the act to be applied to the prisons of the King's-Bench and Marshalsea, and to the hospitals and alm-houses in each county are paid; which overplus is, by the fifteenth Section, directed to be at the discretion of the magistrates at their quarter-sessions, distributed for the relief of those who have fustained losses by fire, water, the fea, or other cafualties.

The other Sections of the act, which declare the time when it shall begin to have effect, regulate the choice of parish-officers in the extraparochial island of Fowlness, direct the defendant's plea to an action of trespass brought against him, and the costs attending suits at law commenced in consequence of the act, need not be particularly descanted on. It will be sufficient generally to observe, that the same wisdom and good sense in the substance, and the

fame plainness, distinctness and precision in the language, pervade every sentence of this chef d'oeuvre of our forefathers policy with respect to the regulation of the poor.

It may be proper to acknowledge, that the author of these pages has seen and perused Mr. Gilbert's plan, and also his Considerations on the intended Bills for the better employment and relief of the Poor; and that no one can be impressed with a more exalted opinion of the integrity, abilities, and industry, all which are apparent in the attempt itself, of that most respectable mover of the intended alterations, than him who here strives to defend the laws and plan delivered down on this fubject by our forefathers; but we do not join issue on facts; the intended preamble to Mr. Gilbert's act declares, " that the laws provided for the relief and employment of the poor though wifely calculated have been grofsly perverted." The leading supposition of this tract is, that on enquiry it will appear they have not been enforced, but remain a dead letter; let the fact turn out as it may -fuppose they have been perverted; perversion of a rule is no argument against it, for if ill arises from thence, it is a tacit proof that it would not from a due execution of the rule: the remedy for this disease, is to enforce a strict execution; not an abrogation,

In page 17, of Mr. Gilbert's Considerations on these Bills, is seen, with concern, an affertion, that a dictum of Lord Mansfield, who is not improperly called the Oracle of the King's-Bench (if the word oracle is taken in its fullest sense) quoted from Burrows's Reports, which fays, that the Statute of C. II. is founded on a mistaken policy; together with a greater authority than this; the voice of time and experience has shown incontestably, that such a fystem as is the reverse of the 43d of Elizabeth, will more certainly answer the great purpose of maintaining and employing the poor; and feveral instances follow of the united parishes in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk to strengthen this idea: to the reported dictum of Lord Mansfield, will it be permitted to oppose the written opinion of one of the best Judges of our Laws and Constitution that ever fat in the Court of King's-Bench, the late Commentator on the Laws of England, who fays, in his 4th vol. p. 432, " a plan was formed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, more humane and beneficial than even feeding millions, by affording them the means, with proper industry, to feed and cloath themselves. And the farther any subsequent plans for maintaining the poor have departed from this institution, the more impracticable and even pernicious their visionary attempts have proved," and also the ideas which the Honourable Daines Barrington has in his observations of the more antient Statutes thrown D 4

thrown out on this fubject; an authority which on account of the high character of the writer every one must feel the weight of; who, among other very ftrong commendations of the present code of poor laws, fays, "the principles are, that every one capable of working shall be employed, and that he who is incapable shall be relieved and supported by the parish. Are not, therefore, these beneficent and humane attentions to the miseries of our fellow creatures, the first of those poor pleas which we are capable of offering, in behalf of our imperfections to an all-wife and merciful Creator?" And is it prefumption to advance in opposition to whatever it may be, which Mr. Gilbert calls the voice of time and experience? The constant and uniform voice of parliament, which as has been noticed in these observations, has treated this corner stone of our poor laws for a course of above a hundred and fifty years with reverential attention; and may it be with propriety observed, that a strict execution of the Ist Section of the 43d of Elizabeth; that is to fay, the taking order for fetting to work the children of fuch whose parents shall not be able to keep and maintain them, and also all such persons who use no ordinary or daily trade of life to get their livelihood, and raising a convenient stock of slax, hemp, wool, thread, iron, and other necessary ware and stuff to set the poor at work, are, it is apprehended, the chief and most efficacious means the

the managers of the poor in these united parishes have found for affecting the advantage which has been proved to arise in the examples mentioned, and which instances are consequently a strong argument for putting in force and not abrogating this excellent Statute.

On another point also, and which affects the main fpring of the intended alteration, must a doubt be ventured, and all doubts which tend to oppose it should be introduced with deference and caution: for it must be confessed, that differing in opinion on ground so perfectly well known as the subject of the poor laws is by Mr. Gilbert, refembles treading on ashes which conceal fire. The doubt is at prefent founded on apprehension only; on apprehenfion, that taking the management entirely from the yeomen, the tradefmen, the mechanicks, and manufacturers, who form the middle class and rank of people in the country, and in fact immediately govern and regulate the opinions of the multitude, and the reduction of their former office of trust and authority to that of a meer receiver, will alarm their pride as well as their interests, and with some reason, for it will be treating them almost in the same manner as the Roman law did those who were mad, prodigal, deprived of their intellects, deaf, mute, or fubject to a continual diforder, to fuch-"quia rebus fuis fuperesse non possunt, curatores dandi funt:" and it is much to be feared, that so material

an alteration of the persons who have the immediate controul over the poor, and who have for near two hundred years been their overfeers, and as fuch their advisers, their employers, and in some degree their patrons, and as the poor may probably conceive their benefactors also, will create popular discontents which are not likely to be mitigated by the good and peaceable advice of those who think they have done nothing to forfeit the management of that revenue, which, they will fay, is immediately taken out of their pockets; but on the contrary, it is to be feared they will rather fuscitate the flame of discontent, than attempt to extinguish it; the confequences refulting from which, may univerfally difturb the internal peace and quiet of the kingdom, as far as the 43d of Elizabeth has force and effect, and create jealoufy and ill temper in that very confiderable part of the community, among whom now reigns confidence and content, although, alas! too much mixed with diffipation, and its companion poverty.

It is a remarkable circumstance, and which is not likely to be experienced in any other plan of policy, that has been in constant use throughout a great and enlightened kingdom for so long a time, that a rule of conduct with respect to any branch of the internal police, should so thoroughly have stood the test of experience, from the date of the Statute to the end of the reign of his late Majesty; and

and no defects be discovered in it, but such as arose from the virtue of the times, when it became a law which did not foresee that such a superabundant caution would be necessary to guard against the evalions or dishonesty of mankind, as present experience proves are infufficient for the purpose; more especially as the speculations of many good and diftinguished persons, such as Lord Hale, Sir Josiah Child, and others, have offered schemes of reform or fuggested partial corrections; furely such a test stamps a kind of fanctity on the act, which no new code will for ages be able to command. And it is also observable, that there has been an apparent attention of the legislature throughout the whole of this period, to co-operate with the idea of increasing the revenue for the use of the poor from the fines and penalties arising from a breach of the feveral Sections in the 43d of Elizabeth, and also to enforce the general observance of the poor laws, and to guard and controul the management of the revenue to be raifed for their benefit by pecuniary mulcts, the application of which, has uniformly been directed to the use and benefit of the poor.

Permit then, in this place, an anticipation of the answer to an enquiry, which is proposed should pervade every part of the kingdom subject to these laws.—Let it be supposed, that the general information resulting from such an enquiry is, that the rules

rules and orders of the legislature contained in these Sections, have not been enforced—that they are at this time no where in constant use—that not any, or very few of the penalties have been levied-and that in general, no stock is raised for the poor to work up, consequently no regular employment for them :- no money to build them habitations-no encouragement to industry and population-that the money which is raifed for their relief, is laid out as the overfeers chuse, and as their interests or connections influence them; all which circumstances have a tendency to keep the poor in habits of idleness and diffipation ;—that no controul is exercised over the minutiæ of the overfeers' accounts by the magistrates who sign them, as it were ministerially only, and not judicially—that in those instances, where the carelessness, or interests of the parishofficers, occasion a breach, or neglect, of these prudent rules and regulations, which the legislature intended should be in some degree repaired, and some amends made to fociety, and in particular to the fund for the employment and relief of the poor, by the fines and penalties, to be levied as an atonement for fuch offences, no fuch fine is ever levied, from the pauper himself, up to the magistrate; of course, that the laws have not in fact the benefit of a penal fanction: - If fuch is the general answer throughout the kingdom; and particular inftances of wife, difcreet, and strict management of the poor, according to the laws, will only shine out as so many honourable exceptions to the supposed general information; surely, the wisdom and integrity of parliament precludes them from framing new laws, on account of the insufficiency of the old; and with much greater regard to the sacred rules of legislation, should the legislature resolve to give the present existing code a trial for a sew years, by a strict and impartial levying of the sines incurred, by a breach of any one of these established regulations; the means to effect which, shall be the next topick to be considered.

That the vindicatory fanction of laws is the efficient, if not the fole means government has to enforce a due observance of any regulations it may think necessary for fociety, appears to have been uniformly the opinion of all legislators; that this opinion has been founded on facts, in all ages and in all climes and conftitutions history proves in every page; that this fanction has operated to this effect in this kingdom, constant experience has univerfally proved; and that none other, not even the fear of meeting the correction of an avenging Deity, has had an equal influence over the passions and defires of man, in restraining them from a breach of the rules of right and justice, or the more facred behefts of an enlightened religion, when their wordly interests are concerned; the deplorable lengths to which perjury is carried, when not within the pale of the vindicatory fanction of our laws,

too plainly testify; but what avails this fanction, if not in use? What avails the spirit of our laws if not inforced? Nothing. The end, therefore, defired is a due and strict execution of the existing laws—the means must be considered.

It may be observed throughout this deduction of the code of laws for the employment and relief of the poor, from the first corner stone to the last addition to the building which has been subject to these strictures; that the magistrates are uniformly entrusted by the legislature with the execution of these laws, and for this purpose are armed with the power of punishing transgressions against them; but are the magistrates in their petty-fessions respectable enough in number and consequence to exercife impartially and firictly, the great authority they are trusted with? Would it not create them much trouble, fome enemies, and be productive of consequences which would disturb the tranquility of a country life? And do the accounts of the parishofficers come before them, or the matters relative to the general management of the poor, often enough for them to overlook and form an exact judgment of the minutiæ of their accounts, and expenditure? If the answer is a negative to these questions; an asfertion may be ventured, that by a more numerous magistracy, the odium as well as the trouble would be divided; befides a more respectable acting magistracy in point of property, would carry a greater authority,

thority, and their duty, which if executed properly, is a ferious and troublesome business, being more in a line with their interest, as it would tend to a reduction of the poors' rates, and consequently to keep at a level, if not raise their rentals; they would not grudge the time it detained them from their more savourite rural avocations.

It is taken for granted that the commission of the peace is filled with the names of the principal gentlemen of property in each county, either at their own defire, or the express or indirect solicitations of their friends; or at least, that it is a compliment paid by the Lord Lieutenant to those gentlemen who are esteemed the most proper for the office, and by whom fuch a mark of diffinction, it is apprehended, will be received with complacency; the being enrolled in the commission of the peace, as men of fufficient integrity, abilities, and importance, to be trusted with the execution of the variety of laws, over which, justices of the peace preside; flatters the principles of pride and self-importance, which are natural to the human breaft; yet few of these gentlemen, whose dignity is thus confulted by the Lord Lieutenant, ever make any return to the community for this confidence which is placed in them, by taking the trouble and responsibility on themselves of the duties incident to the office; here then is a fair fource, either of affiftance towards a more exact execution of the

poor laws, or of an additional revenue to enable the public better to bear the encreased and encreasing burthens of the poor rates, arising from the negligent manner of enforcing the laws for their employment and relief; suppose then a bill to be passed for a more strict enforcing the 43d of Elizabeth and the subsequent Statutes for the employment and relief of the poor; of which the following may be the substance of the preamble, and the general skeleton of the bill, in which very great allowance it is to be hoped will be made for the crude and indigested form and substance it contains.

Preamble.

Whereas many excellent rules and regulations respecting the employment and relief of the poor, have, at different times, from the 43d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to the present session of parliament passed into law under the stile and title of [here insert the titles of the different Statutes respecting the poor laws] most of which, through the artifices and designs of some, and the indolence and inactivity of others, are either perverted, or fallen into disuse, and not carried into execution, by means of which, the poors' rates are become an encreased and encreasing burthen to the subject, and the said rules and regulations have been strengthened and enforced by penalties, which are directed by the said acts, to be applied in aid of the money

to be raifed for the relief of the poor; which penalties, although often incurred, are feldom or ever levied; contrary to the true intent and meaning of the feveral Statutes in that behalf. And whereas the names of many are inferted in the commission of the peace in every county throughout England, who do not take on them the office of magistrate, although enrolled therein for that purpose, by reafon of which their country is deprived of their fervices in that respect, and the burthen of the execution of the poor laws, falls too heavy on those who are now acting in that responsible situation in their respective counties, which, it is apprehended, is one of the causes why the said laws are not properly carried into force and effect; for remedy whereof, and to the end that there may be a more numerous, respectable, and efficient magistracy throughout the kingdom, to carry the faid acts of parliament into strict and impartial execution-and that those appointed by the laws may do their duty in that respect, or that some benefit may arise to that branch of the revenue, over which they are deputed by the aforesaid acts of parliament to preside, in compensation, as far as may be, for their offences from whatever cause they may arise, against the true intent and meaning of the faid acts .- May it please your Majesty that it be enacted-

That all whose names are inserted in the commission, do pay towards a fund to be instituted for the employment and relief of the poor 20s. per month, until they qualify themselves for acting as justices of the peace, and sue out his Majesty's writ for that purpose.

That the justices of the peace do meet the week before each quarter-sessions for the county, at some convenient place in their respective hundreds or districts, minutely to inspect and regulate the accounts of the overseers for the preceding quarter, and whatever magistrate shall be absent from such meeting, shall pay 20s. for each absence.

That the overfeers bring their accounts properly made up article by article, in a book to be kept for that purpose, to such meeting, under an equal or larger penalty.

That at fuch meeting the justices do make enquiry particularly in what instances the overseers have in their respective parishes offended against the laws, for the employment and relief of the poor, either by commissions of offences, or omissions of duty, and that they do return such offences and the names of such offenders, and the names of such magistrates and overseers as are absent, to the next general quarter-sessions, with an order for the overseers so offending to attend.

That the faid quarter-fessions do direct the said penalties incurred by virtue of this ast to be levied on the several offenders, admitting of no excuse but illness, attested properly, and do likewise hear what

the faid overfeers fo attending have to fay why the penalties incurred by them under the faid several acts of parliament for the employment and relief of the poor, should not be levied, and do accordingly order such as they shall think are incurred to be levied in the manner prescribed by the said several acts; and the whole amount to be paid by the high constable of each hundred into the hands of the clerk of the peace, and that an account of the sums received by him, be kept in a book for that purpose.

That the grand jury at every affize for the county, be directed to receive an account from the clerk of the peace, of the fums due from those who may have omitted to qualify, and to order the money due, to be levied in the usual manner, and to be paid to him.

That the produce of all the faid penalties be laid out in the purchase of government securities in the name of the grand jury of each county, the account of which to be kept by the clerk of the peace, subject to their inspection and controul. The dividends due on which, together with the sums which may arise every quarter in the same manner, to be laid out quarterly, if there shall be sufficient for the purchase of sifty pounds stock, during the continuance of this act—then to await the surther direction of parliament.

This act to continue for feven years, and that during the faid period, the poors' rates shall not exceed the medium of the last three years.

The

The effect of an act of parliament framed on fuch. or fimilar principles, would, in the course of seven years, if strictly enforced, convince the nation by experience, that the prefent code of poor laws, either is, or is not fufficient for the purpose. If it is found adequate, or, that only fome inconfiderable alterations are wanted, let it still remain with such necessary amendments, the law of the land; but if fuch experience proves, that it is not equal to the purpose, then may the alteration now proposed by Mr. Gilbert, or any other which may be approved of by the legislature, take place without so much danger of creating discontents among the lower orders of the state; who have eyes to see, ears to hear, and fense to understand, more especially those dictates, that experience, which ought to be the foundation of precept, feelingly inculcates on their minds; besides, some fund would arise in the mean time, the value of which would be inverfely proportioned to the strictness with which the laws would be excuted, and which might lay an humble, but fure foundation, for a revenue that in time would operate with equal certainty, and proportional effect, to meet the burthen of the poors' rates; as does. that wife and patriotic plan of our present minister, to meet the national debt; unless it pleased the wisdom of parliament to apply it at the end of the term, towards the expence of those buildings which Mr. Gilbert's plan makes necessary in each diftrict.

FINIS

